FREE SOCIETY

A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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Selfishness.

You say to me there is no room for selfishness
In a world of right relationships.
But I say to you that selfishness
Is the seed that roots itself in the ground of things,
That grows green and succulent with public weal,
That blossoms and buds pregnantly,
And yields ripened goods so abundantly,
That they come to your door
As cheaply and as useful
As tho altruism had scattered itself
Over fruitful fields, and frnctified
Your wants even to over-fulness.

JOSEPH A LABADIE.

—o—

Education.

It has often struck me that, as Anarchists, the subject of education has an immense importance for us. We are working for the future of mankind. We undertake the task, so to speak, of educating mankind, giving them a broader, wider humanity. How important then for us to consider the education of children. For it is almost impossible in the grown man or woman to eradicate all the effects of an education such as the children of this generation are receiving. Have we not all had occasion to find how difficult it is to effect a change in the character, the tastes, the habits of thought of a grown man? The educational methods of today are busy preparing future enemies of progress. It is necessary to consider the question, and to seek if we cannot do something at least in the matter.

Let us see how our children are educated. From the first years in which they are capable of understanding, they are the victims, more often than not, of the despotic authority of their parents. Should they ask questions they are told, "Children must be seen and not heard." The child has no right to a desire of its own, cannot say anything, do anything. No attempt is made to educate the child's reason by explaining why. But need I dwell on this picture? Do we not all know it? Have not many of us suffered from it? During the most important years of its life the child is submitted to the authority and care of parents completely ignorant of the nature of children, whose only idea of education is that children must be kept in their place, and must be punished for wrongdoing.

And then the school. Still the same command, "Obey and be quiet." Always authority, and the inculcation of obedience to authority as such. Never the slightest attempt to aid the development of the child's nature; only the beating into his lively brain of dead, uninteresting facts.

Can we wonder that men stoop so readily to authority? Their whole education has tended towards this. The instinct to obey becomes almost ineradicable. Nor can we wonder as long as education is authoritarian, that the one thing never attained is education, development. Instead of arousing interest, teaching arouses hatred for the things that are taught. We Anarchists urge that all things must be subordinated to the development of the individual. This alone is the right of man, that he should have opportunity to exercise his healthy normal faculties, that no integral part of his individuality shall be suppressed. To this need in the individual for self-development, all social organization must be subordinated—this is of first importance. And here, at the very commencement of life, where this principle is of the supremest importance, here it is not only ignored, but is opposed. The individuality of the child is thruout repressed by authority in the first place, and then by the drill of stereotyped lessons. When the child should be out in the sunshine, giving natural vent to the lively energy within, and learning the lessons which nature will so readily give, he must sit on a bench and repeat monotonous moral stories, or, under the name of history, hear of the lives and deeds of kings and princes, their bloodthirsty (but still moral) wars, or puzzle out the meaning of x—1.

Fourier has well described what education should be—

Universal and not exceptional,
In conformity with vocations, and not arbitrary,
Convergent and not divergent,
Active and not passive,
Composite and not simple,
Integral and not partial,
Of development and not of constraint.

This is the logical application to education of the Anarchist principle that every individual has a right to the fullest scope for the healthy development of all his faculties. The ideal of integral education, that is the progressive development in the equilibrium of the whole being, without omission or mutilation, is a logical part of the ideal of Anarchism. Let us not forget to insist on this part of our ideal. In our struggle for freedom the next generation is of more importance even then the present. Attempts have already been made in the right direction, at Yasnaya Polyana by Tolstoy, and in France at Cempuis by Robin, to quote the two most notable examples. We are already in the period of transition. Let us hope that it will be short. We can help to shorten the period by disseminating those ideals of education which are the outcome of our ideal of humanity, a thing which we have rather neglected to do. It is the children of today who will decide what is to come tomorrow.—R. A. B., in *Freedom*.

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A Letter from London.

Of the many events that have recently occurred, the Labor Representation Movement seems to me the most important to us Anarchists. High politics and the chicanery of statesmen are always interesting to observe because of the well-being (comparative, of conrse) of the people who are largely involved in their schemes of war, extension of trade, and so on. But the labor movement is a thing apart from these back stair intrigues and must always enlist our sympathy and attention because they already form the nucleus of the future society we are striving for.

The Labor Representation Movement, political tho it is at present, is a revolt against the encroachments of capital that has been going on systematically for some years. These encroachments reached their culminating point in the Taff Vale decision, and it was that event, perhaps more than any other single incident, which has caused the awakening of the trade unions from their long slumber. This question has not been treated yet in FREE SOCIETY, so it may not be amiss to state briefly the chief points in this affair which is fraught with such great importance to the labor movement in this country. Before doing so it is better, perhaps, to state several very interesting points with regard to the unions here. First of all, high dues prevail in nearly all unions. Secondly, out-of-work, sick-and-death benefits exist with very few exceptions, and superanuation in a great many unions. Thirdly, many unions are extremely rich and large bank accounts are the rule and not the exception. Fourth, all or ninety-nine per cent are registered by the State in order to sue in courts of law and for protection of their funds against defaulting officials.

Taff Vale is a district in Wales where a strike took place among the railway men, some two or three years ago, over the alleged wrongful dismissal of several men for their too active participation in trade union affairs. The strike was a local affair and not authorized by the national union—the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. But after it had broken out, Richard Bill, the general secretary, went down, saw both employers and employes and tried to bring about a settlement. He was unsuccessful, however, and after his return to headquarters the executive granted the men strike pay and the strike was carried on for some time. The strike was pretty general, and as it lasted for a considerable term, it involved considerable loss to the company before a settlement was affected. Finally, some genius hit upon the brillant idea of suing the union for damages, for interfering with their business. Their argument was very simple, so simple in fact that it is a wonder no one thought of it before. A trade union is a corporate body registered by the State and can sue thru its officials in courts of law. If it can sue others surely others can sue it. Such was the argument, and after the case had dragged on for some time and thousands of pounds had been eaten up by the lawyers, etc., the union finally accepted defeat without appealing the case to the House of Lords. The cost was tremendous, and I shall not be surprised if some of my readers think I am romancing. The union paid the company a lump sum of nearly a million dollars, and the total cost of the trial to the union was no less than the fabulous sum of *six hundred thousand* dollars. The loss in money was very great, but the precedent established was so grave as to imperil the very existence of trade unions, for in future if this line is followed it means that the funds of all unions are absolutely at the mercy of the capitalists. This, then, was the blow that shook the unions to their very foundations and caused the dry bones to rattle in their attempt to regain that which had been lost.

Unfortunately the silly parrot cry of "send the right men to parliament" was raised, and it caught on. The "Labor Representation Committee" had come into existence previous to this, but it received a tremendous fillip from this affair. The L. R. C. is a federation of trades unions, Independent Labor party, and the Fabian Society, and has for its aim (ostensibly) the establishment in the House of Commons of a labor party working on strictly independent lines—similar to the Irish Party. They have an approximate membership of eight hundred thousand members affiliated, of which the I. L. P. represent probably ten or twelve thousand, the Fabian Society six or seven hundred, and the trades unions the balance. The dues are a shilling per head a year paid thru the affiliated societies. At present they have a group of four men in parliament—Keir Hardie, Richard Bell, secretary of the Railway Servants, Shackelton, and William Crooks, the east-end workman who was mayor of Poplar (London) last year. The last two were elected since the formation of the Labor Representation Commitee. Burns, Burt, Broadhurst, and several other so-called labor M. P.s are not affiliated, and up to the present have withstood the blandishments of that very astute politician Keir Hardie, who is the main wire-puller of the L. R. C., to join.

* * *

The war is over and sanity is returning. Times are hard, and the workmen are now crying for the scalps of those statesmen they cheered so enthusiastically a year or two ago. The attack on trade unions and the attempt to clericalize the schools are both having their effect, and it is quite on the cards that if the next general election comes in a year or two there will be some fifteen or twenty workmen (?) elected, of whom some half a dozen are likely to be Social Democrats. A bargain has already been struck with the Liberals, and they will not contest certain seats. All of this is to be regretted from our point of view, but the movement is here and it would be idle to deny it. However, everything comes to those who wait, and we Anarchists can rest content that this movement will fail as every political movement has failed, and the workers will turn to us in the end. There is plenty of work for us to do, and there is a revival of revolutionary feeling in the country of which this political phase is merely a symptom. A more cheerful spirit prevails among the comrades generally, and the many inquiries for literature and the interest shown in our ideas by people outside our ranks is a cause for hope if not for enthusiasm by all comrades.

Needless to say, there is no lack of candidates willing to "sacrifice" themselves on the altar of labor by becoming members of parliament at four pounds a week, and as most of them are officials of trade unions and will continue to hold their positions, it will mean an income of from seven to ten pounds a week, which, when one remembers that many of these would-be M. P.s were gas workers, dock laborers, and navies, is pretty good salary for men whose income when they *worked* was about thirty shilling a week. It is as certain as three and two make five that these men will not only lose all their revolutionary spirit, like Burns and Hardie, but will actually be a bar to progressive action once they are returned to parliament.

* * *

The "First of May," arranged as usual this year by the Social Democratic Federation was an absolute failure as far as London was concerned, and from all accounts those thruout the country were not much better. From 1890 to 1900 the "First of May" was a labor demonstration which consisted of a parade and a huge meeting in Hyde Park. Altho the size of the demonstrations grew smaller as years went on, due largely to the twaddle talked by the political Socialists, still it was a *labor demonstration* and devoid of frivolity. Since 1901 it has been a labor picnic, and as it seems hopeless to expect Social Democrats to learn by experience, they arranged another one of these picnics this year when the two preceding years had been failures. The reason they were failures is so simple a child (not a Social Democrat) could understand it. The bulk of the Social Democrats are recruited from unskilled workers whose wages seldom go over thirty shillings, and the majority under that. Taking thirty shillings as a standard, a loss of a day's wage is five shillings, railway fare and admission to the grounds, lunch, refreshments, etc., for himself and wife even if he has no children, will run to seven or eight shillings more, making a total of twelve or thirteen shillings or nearly half a week's work, and all this for the pleasure of hearing some bad speech, see a poor variety show, run some foot races, and drink some beer to drown his despondency. Is it any wonder these affairs, bereft of solidarity and common sense, are a failure? The picnic ("demonstration" they prefer to call it) this year was very poorly attended and absolutely without spirit, and will certainly result in a financial loss, and all because the Social Democrats cannot see that these picnics are absolutely contrary to the spirit in which "First of May" was intended. They are out of the reach of the very people they hope to attract, and are without a shadow of inspiration to those who do go.

* * *

The Social Democratic Federation has had another rift in the lute and its late conference devoted nearly all its sessions not to furthering the ideas of Socialism, but to what they humorously call "establishing discipline in the party." The result was that discipline triumphs and freedom of action in the party once more suffers. Several branches and individual members were expelled for attacking the executive committee, and a resolution was passed declaring that in future when the executive expel a branch or member there shall be no appeal to the general conference. Where, O where, is the referendum! In future a committee of twelve are to rule and there is no appeal from their decision. Verily, freedom is repugnant to some people. Another resolution was passed which for monumental stupidity and vindictiveness it is hard to beat. Herbert Buroughs said the day after the expulsion that there would probably be an attempt in Scotland to form an organization hostile to the S. D. F., and he moved a resolution that, should any branch or member send in his resignation it should not be accepted but the aforesaid branch or member expelled forthwith. The resolution was carried unanimously. If you do not believe me consult *Justice* of five weeks ago. It's too funny for anything. If a man wants to resign don't let him,—fire him out! Now that's what I call an original mind. Three cheers for the theosophical Herbert!

* * *

Our Jewish comrades are hard at work in the east-end propagating the general strike. The *Worker's Friend* group had a splendid meeting in May in conjunction with the revolutionary Socialists to discuss the "First of May! Past and Present," and the *Liberty Group* had a still larger meeting to discuss "The General Strike." Both meetings were international in character and were very enthusiastic.

* * *

The official statement as to the cost of the South African war has just been published, and it shows that the cost of subduing that handful of farmers was nearly twenty thousand lives and two hundred and eleven million pounds (one thousand and fifty-five

million dollars). Think of that, you backward subscribers, and ponder on the question, will we do so well when our time comes?

* * *

The "Friends of Russian Freedom" had their gathering on Wednesday, May 6. Kropotkin, Tchaykoffsky, Tcherkesoff, Goldenberg, and many other old warriors in the cause of Russian freedom were present, and we spent a delightful evening.

H. M. KELLY.

P. S. The first gun has been fired at Oxford in the "no rate" movement which is the Nonconformist protest against the Education Bill passed last year. Briefly, it is an attempt by the High Church party to clericalize the schools and the dissenting religions from the Church of England. Such as the Baptist, Methodist, etc., are organizing what they call a "passive resistence policy," and will refuse to pay their rates (local taxes) and say they will go to prison rather than see their money go to support and propagate a religion they are bitterly opposed to. We are in the early stages yet, and as the movement looks big I refrain from writing about it at present. H. M. K.

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Letter From Holland.

Holland is one of the most advanced and revolutionary countries with regard to the labor movement. Yes, I have the conviction that Holland is going to play a very prominent part in the international class-struggle, and it is not the boast of nationality that impels me to speak so.

About a year and a half ago the Dutch laborers took up the idea of a general boycott of England's world-trade, in order to compel that country to make favorable peace terms with the Boer republics and to bring that bloody war to a finish. It was especially the revolutionary element that had suggested the idea, as it saw in it the beginning of the end of the capitalistic regime.

But some of the most desired nationalities for this movement had no ears for such a far-reaching scheme, and altho the Dutch laborers received a good many evidences of sympathy, they could not get the necessary aid of the German harbor and transport workers, who were advised by the Social Democratic leaders of that country to take no notice of such a lunatic scheme, which added much to the failure. Another reason was the difference of opinion about the aim of the boycott between the two parties in Holland itself—the revolutionists and the parliamentarians or Social Democrats—of which the first would use the boycott as a means of making all wars impossible, and the latter as a protest against England's war only.

* * *

At that time I was living in America and could hardly comprehend the dominating spirit of those days. I always thought that there was a kind of Jingoism in the boycott scheme, but when I came back to Holland I soon observed that this great idea had set its roots deeper into the minds of the working people than I could have expected. The best evidence for it was the restless propaganda which was kept up for the general strike. In fact, there is no country on earth where the movement for the general strike has taken such proportions as in Holland, and I may safely say that it has become a mass-movement.

You understand that this is done by the revolutionary Socialists and Anarchists, as the Social Democrats have no use for that "foolish idea," and keep themselves busy—just as in America—with questions of elections and universal suffrage. Here as well as in America they do not favor strikes in their hearts and mock at those who see in strikes one of the best means to combat capitalism. But time proved what fools they are!

* * *

Undoubtedly you have read of the railroad strike over here, which took place the last of January and kept Amsterdam for a few days excluded from the outer world. This strike was carried on with so much success that not only the foreign press, but even governments recognized that by this weapon the power of the capitalists would pass into the hands of the laborers. And no wonder, for in modern times labor never had won such a brilliant victory in such a short time. Within three days the railroad men had brought the railroad directors to terms. And the most encouraging phenomenon in this movement was the spontaneous action of the workers.

The dock laborers had been striking for some weeks already and the fight promised to become a hard one. The great transport firms would neither recognize the union of the dockers—nor were they willing to raise their wages. At the end of January two railroad men were commanded to transport some tobacco, a work else done by the transport laborers. They promptly refused to do so, and when they were discharged and others commanded to handle the stuff they also refused.

The railroad peristently refused to take the two discharged men back, and so it came that the unions declared the strike for the main railway center in Holland. They sent an ultimatum to the railway companies, demanding not to be compelled to do scab work and to take back the discharged men. If the railway companies should fail to answer within a fixed time, the unions threatened to declare the strike all over the country. But the unions had not to take this measure, for from all railway stations they received word that the men were refusing to handle the trains.

The railroad companies, observing that the unions were in earnest, conceded every demand if they would only run the trains again. The victory being complete, the unions decided to do so, but they had quite a little trouble to make the laborers return to their engines, etc.; for other grievances against the companies had caused such a hate by the laborers that they demanded to have them removed before going to work. The companies promised to consider the grievances as soon as the unions would present them, and the laborers trusting their enemy, as they always do, took up their work the day after the strike had been declared off. A day later the transport firms also conceded the demand of the dockers,—and labor triumphed.

To describe the feelings of the toilers is impossible. Enthusiasm was in the air. The government, ambushed by the suddenness of the strike, was powerless to do anything against it, while the capitalists were struck with fear, looking for means to regain their lost power. Amsterdam, the hotbed of the revolutionary movement, was filled with soldiers and warships.

A few weeks after the workers heard that the government was to introduce an anti-strike bill. The unions were called together and concluded to form a committee of defense. This committee was to prevent the passing of said bill if necessary by a general strike. A lively agitation was carried on against the bill, and the spirit of the workers was unanimously against the passing of the measure, and when the committee of defense was compelled by the government to declare a general strike, one thousand laborers responded to the call.

What had happened in the time between the constituting of the committee of defense and the outbreak of the strike would fill a volume, were I to tell this. It is enough to state that it was again the parliamentarians who betrayed the cause of labor. A manifesto, which has been sent to all nationalities, says enough, and I cannot do better than to refer the readers to that document. However, we are not slain yet, as the bourgeoisie are liable to think. We were not even defeated, but only—sad to relate—betrayed by our co-workers in the cause of labor—the Social Democrats.

That we were not defeated was shown by our First of May meetings. Of course, there is reaction and the victims are many (about three thousand at this time); but our May meeting in Amsterdam was glorious, while the Social Democrats betrayed this day by advising the toilers to remain at work. The noon meeting of the committee that propagated the general strike was attended by two thousand five hundred people, and in the evening about seven thousand filled the largest hall of Amsterdam. The meetings of the Social Democrats, who advocated universal suffrage and the eight-hour day, were hardly attended by two thousand people. This shows that the idea of the general strike has not suffered; and the revolutionists have pledged themselves not to sit still before we have reached a better and free society. H. A.

Amsterdam, Holland, May, 1903.

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Important For Chicago Readers Only.

Friday, June 19, 8 p. m., a grand theatrical peformance of the play "The Union Man". will be given by the Workmen's Educational Club, at the Apollo Hall, Blue Island Avenue, near Twelfth Street. A speech will also be delivered by W. F. Barnard. All comrades and friends are cordially invited Admission 25 cents. All profits will go to the propaganda.

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Attention.

Comrade Emma Goldman has agreed to make a propaganda tour in the West and the Pacific Coast during the months of July and August, if the money necessary for the trip can be raised. Now we ask all comrades who are interested in the tour to mail all contributions and communications either to my address or to Comrade Emma Goldman's, 50 First St., New York.

ROSE FRITZ.

421 Castro St., San Francisco, Calif.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JUNE 14 ,1903.

418

If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, your subscription expires with this number.

Notes.

All exchanges and correspondents should note our new address, and direct mail to **407 Park Ave.** instead of 331 Walnut.

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Ida C. Craddock's photograph can be obtained from E. C. Walker, 244 W. 143rd St., New York, N. Y. Price, 30 cents.

* * *

To anyone sending us $2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House" or his new work "The Wholesome Woman." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and $2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

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Outpost Echoes.

High wages are not liberty.

The rich can afford to be ignorant.

Those who are fed on promises eat lies.

Strikes show men how strong they are.

Authority is always putting on a pious face.

They will be *hungry* to settle the waiters' strike.

To own you must be able to steal; and then lie.

Henry George, Jr., laughs at Kautsky. Has George a mirror?

Marshall Field finds the industrial situation ominous. Waking up.

Elections are prize fights with many contestants trying for a knock-out.

When shall we have liberty? When we have developed an ample appetite.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., teaches a Sunday-school clas how to serve God and steal.

The common man is told before elections that he is wise; after elections he is called a fool. Why?

The logic of commercial rewards—nothing is too bad for a good man, nor too good for a bad man.

Roosevelt is to investigate the rottenness of the postoffice. Being used to rotteness, it will not nauseate him.

The Social Democrats of Germany expect big things in the next election; but opportunism will keep its job thru it all.

* * *

Chamberlain having satiated himself with Boer blood, now wants to tie England up with a tariff. Where will this penny Napoleon stop?

* * *

Anarchism is for men, not for midgets. Bipeds who wonder if it would be safe to go out of doors under liberty should return to the nursery at once.

* * *

Freethought gets itself or its consequences expressed in action sooner or later. And what is thought for if not that action may reap its fruits. Why do we think?

* * *

Smuggling is on the increase, among the rich mainly. The laws which we hear so much about, these good laws, must be in the nature of necessities rather than luxuries; or the rich would certainly not allow the poor to have them alone.

* * *

New York is the paradise of dogs, it seems; Fifth avenue is often conspicuous with them, elegantly attired, and accompanied by ladies. Men have broken into prison for food; others may wish that they were dogs.

* * *

A suggestion for a cartoon:—Theodore in an heroic attitude fronting the postoffice robbers, and saying "there must be an investigation, and a thoro one," while he winks to a man beyond who is approaching with a huge bucket of whitewash and a brush.

* * *

Savages look upon our civilization with wonder—and disgust. When we tell them that our great public works cost so much labor and money, they say, "What waste!" and when we point with pride to our industrial bee-hives and the immensity of production, they say, "What slavery!"

* * *

Andrew Carnegie has given another million and a half for the education of those who will thus learn to be drones and exploiters. The education of man in present-day ideals and methods of life is a farce of so uproarious a character that only a clown like merry Andrew can take it and himself seriously.

* * *

We are still pacifying the Philippines at the rate of about fifty murders a day. Some mathematician should calculate how many natives we would have to kill every month in order to effectually pacify the islands in ten years, say; then we could go about the process of civilization systematically and with a surety worthy of so great and noble an object.

* * *

The Presbyterian Church no longer teaches that unbaptized infants are damned. The worshippers of a cruel, jealous, and vindictive deity have had their eyes opened by the fact that man at his worst would not condemn the innocent to a life of torture in a hell. When man becomes too good for his gods there is hope from him in other directions. We look for him to become too good or wise to believe in government.

* * *

Forty per cent of the population of York, England, is made up of those who are practically paupers, and Chas. Booth of the Salvation Army says that twenty-five per cent of the population of the British Isles gets too little food to maintain physical efficiency. The prosperity of nations is today nothing other than the greedy possession by a few of all wealth plus the supineness of a weak and emasculated people.

* * *

The Building Trades Council of San Francisco is going "to act as a safety brake on the local labor movement," according to a resolution adopted by that body. Employers are to be given 90 days notice before a strike is declared, demands for higher wages at present will be discouraged, and other reactionary blessings are promised. Officialdom is the Nemesis of unionism. What if the brakes should *break*—as they will? Liberty is the Nemesis of officialdom.

* * *

The investigation of the killing of the Jews in Russia reveals the worst that could be imagined as to causes; but why do we wait to express indignation and sorrow until some unusually cruel deed of men toward men arouses our hearts? The murder of the race which is going on constantly, why is that constantly forgotten? AMERICUS.

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Infallibility.

In this country a life insurance policy becomes void if the holder thereof is executed for crime—the courts holding that to pay such policies would be to insure crime. Some time ago the Supreme Court of the United States was called upon to decide whether the above course holds good even tho the executed party is innocent.* The fact that the party was innocent and judicially murdered appears to be admitted, and the question is whether an insurance policy becomes void even if such is the case.

The court decides that it does, on the grounds of public policy. The reasons for this are interesting and instructive. The retrial of "the issue as to the fatal judicial mistake would be tried by another jury and court not infallible." To admit the legality of such retrials "would impress the public with the belief that the trials of the gravest kind were so uncertain that the innocent could not escape condemnation by a jury and unjust judgment by the court, or obtain pardon of the executive." Furthermore, if such contracts were upheld it would "bring reproach upon the State, its judiciary, and executive."

There we have the whole business in a nutshell. One jury is fallible. So is another. In fact, human judgments are humbngs, one as unreliable as the other. But that must not be admitted. If the people found it out they might lose confidence in the infallibility of those who carry on the humbug,—"the State, its judiciary, and executive,"—and then the latter would lose their jobs! And yet the people do not see it. It is astonishing. ABE ISAAK JR.

* Burt vs. Union Cent. Life Insurance Co. U. S. Advance Sheets, p. 139.

The Misinformation of the World.

The distinctive characteristic of a class civilization is its fear of free inquiry. The owners of the world dread nothing so much as a search into the sources of their ownership and its authority. The powers-that-be are quick and sure to resent and punish any questioning of the righteousness or the sacredness of their being. With them, truth is something revealed or, ordered in their interests, something to be accepted by the people, not to be inquired into. Hence it follows that the teaching class, whether it be religious or academic, literary or journalistic, depending as it does upon proprietary interests for economic sustenance, is inevitably a courtier or retainer class; it must teach those things pleasing to its masters, or at least consistent with their security and perpetuity. Thus the occupations that are professionally engaged in the search and exposure of truth are actually engaged in the concealment of truth; in the prevention and punishment of any free look at life. This is markedly so of capitalism.

The exposure of the sources of capitalistic authority to the people would result in its instant dissolution; for it springs not from right or order or law, but from sheer economic might, from fraud and falsehood, from violence and collective murder. It is no mere agitator's exclamation that our present kind of civilization is founded in robbery and massacre; it is the historical and scientific fact. It is upon the concealment of this fact, and upon vesting it with all sorts of divine origins and sacred phrases, that our institutions of property and State depend, as well as our arts and manners and morals. It is only thru the systematic misinformation of the people, thru the darkening and deceiving of the common mind, that ruling classes and their retainers perpetuate themselves. It is because the people are still under the spell of the huge and strong delusion of authority, still hypnotized by the belief that the might and morals of property are sacred, still without a social mind or will, that they permit the few to own the resources of all, and to make laws and institutions by which to privately appropriate the labor of all.

And so long as some people own that upon which all people depend, so long as civilizations and institutions rest upon the private appropriation of social labor, so long as the power to live off the labor of others remains, just so long will the question of ethics be an impertinence. How can a world founded in robbery discuss right and wrong? We know not right from wrong, nor darkness from light, nor truth from error, so long as we discuss these abstractions in the terms, and according to the interests, of a capitalistic or exploiting mode of society. Right and wrong will continue to be, as they now are, merely terms of calculation—terms by which to serve the interest and safety of the owning class. The law and morals of the world will continue to be made to perpetuate, defend and increase the power of private capitalism. That is all the standing armies, the law courts and Churches are for—to compel and exhort the submission of labor to the exploitation of the world-owners, who are always the world-rulers. Our philosophies, our moral codes, the very atmosphere we breathe, are all poisoned by the interests of the propertied class. Until Labor comes to its own, nothing will be right; and nothing ought to be right. Before we can begin a beautiful or truthful world we must lay the foundation of economic truth; then we may see what the building is to be. Good and truth must become things in themselves, and not things of mere calculations.

Furthermore, there is absolute helplessness of men and measure that are stamped with obloquy in the interests of the existing order. There is no redress or escape for those who are effectively against the capitalist system. There is no precinct or sanctuary of life which the journalistic and religious vultures do not enter. There is no appeal from press to press, or from press to people; for capitalism practically controls all the sources and channels of information, so that all information poured into the public mind must possess the quality of capitalist interests. And the public mind has not the smallest apprehension of how ghastly and murderous, of how pitilessly and consciencelessly false, are the subsidized tongues or pens from which come its news and preachments. Nor has it any apprehension of the universal prostitution of mind and heart, the universal paralysis of effort and character, that result from this universal misinformation. . . . . .

The essence of integrity is truthful being, or being the truth. Integrity depends upon our freedom and encouragement to outwardly express all that we inwardly or potentially are; all that we see or think or feel. Integrity is truth in the individual or in society. Social or individual integrity is realized just to the measure that each man or the common life may express truth, or what seems to be truth, without forethought or afterthought; without calculations or consequences; without interests or rewards to be considered, save the joy and reward that inhere in the truth itself, in the feeling and finding of it.

Now, it is just the root or source of integrity, this individual and social self-affirmation, that our capitalistic civilization destroys. Calculative morals, the concealment of truth, the destruction of free inquiry—these are the staple of our spiritual and social life; and these are the destruction of the very soul of integrity that the forms and institutions of our society rest on.

Perhaps the most destructive agent which capitalism possesses is the public press, owned and edited for the systematic misinformation of the world. We say that nothing is true that we read in the newspapers—and laugh. But the truth that lies behind the joke has not been considered. We do not appreciate the enormous and devasting tragedy of a world-life daily and systematically fed upon lies. We do not realize that there is scarcely a line in a modern newspaper, concerning even the most trivial items of news, that is not motived or amended by the interests of the owning class. It is impossible to state or conceive the awfulness of this world-atmosphere of lies which we breathe—the poison and death and darkness of it all. In even the most reputable part of the capitalist press in its religious and literary journals, there is not one thing concerning current events, or the men who make them, that can be taken as really true. The more I have investigated specific cases of this systematic misinformation of the common life, the more I am appalled by the fact and the horror of it; at the obsoleteness or absence of any conscience about the matter. In specifically religious journals, as well as political, there is absolutely no sense of moral responsibility for stating or arriving at the truth about men or things; there is only responsibility for carrying a point, exalting a courtier or crushing an opponent.

The people are daily fed with what is pure invention or violent distortion, in order to serve capitalist interests, and the interests of political and priestly retainers. It is well known that the disorders during the famous Debs strike in Chicago were created by the agents of property for the sake of arousing the public mind against the strikers; and thugs appointed as deputy United States marshals were found setting fire to freight cars. It is known that the men who were condemned and hung for the Haymarket riot had no more to do with killing the policemen, directly or indirectly, than Julius Cæsar or Oliver Cromwell. It is known that before war was declared by the United States against Spain the Spanish government had acceded to all our demands concerning Cuba; but our government kept the fact secret, and war was declared that American imperialism might be initiated. The public mind is entirely ignorant that the war was not only causeless, but made to order for the service of great speculative interests. And so on, from affairs of international import, like the unspeakable massacres of the defenseless and harmless Chinese down to the most trivial details of individual lives, this systematic falsification increases. Schools and Churches and journals, with economic and social reform leagues, are organized for this sole and deliberate purpose.

Of course, the sole misinformation of the world is not a new thing. No intelligent man or scholar pretends that the colossal imposture known as Christianity bears any resemblance to the idea or ideal of Jesus. Organized Christianity was imposed upon the world by imperial armies, in the interests of the exhausted Roman ruling class. And it has been the principal police force of the great propertied interests for more than fifteen hnndred years, its doctrines being conserved or "reformed" according to economic developments. Yet to the popular mind Christianity is synonymous with Jesus. Martin Luther's bargains with the great landed princes of the German States, his monstrous and pitiless betrayals of the peasants so that by treachery and massacre Protestantism was established as the religion of the owning class, are unknown to the popular mind, as well as the vast orgies of confiscation and plunder by which Protestantism was established in England. . . . —*George D. Herron, in The Agitator.*

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The struggle for higher wages and shorter hours is merely an effort to mitigate slavery. In freedom serfdom is unthinkable.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

VIII (continued.)

It is a mark of the savage's better feelings that in all countries containing the larger animals cannibalism falls before means of killing or taking them, tho frequent famine persists well into the agricultural stage. The Indians are said to have suffered as in "Hiawatha" about once every three years. Yet but few were still cannibals when the whites came among them. The Aztecs, the most advanced of all, retained the practise—because there were no large animals in Mexico. Our cannibal forefather was not bad at heart—he was only very ignorant. With cannibalism fell a host of those frightful superstitions which had made his existence a hell. With this custom are intimately associated the worship of these gods to whom children were offered, human sacrifice in general, the funeral rites of burning (roasting) and burial (returning to Saturn, the harvest god—Kronos and Moloch); also war as a religious obligation. Even where such rites were in a measure retained, they lost importance with their cause. Mars the god of war, Diana the protectress of women, who therefore fights with him for Troy, continued to be worshipped while a trace of paganism lingered; but in early times both were most sanguinary deities, requiring profuse human sacrifices. In historic periods their cult was generally mild. The misery of the unburied dead, which had caused boundless suffering to the living, became an antiquated superstition. Sacrifice of children ceased entirely, as in Judea, or was evaded, as Diodorus relates it was at Carthage. With necessity for habitual war, capture of wives went out, and the condition of women began improving. With the domestication of animals, and that pastoral nomadism it created, this change became rapid. Under agricultural civilization the absolute military despotism of hero kings and chiefs declined. With the rise of Metallurgy the mechanical arts began to receive honor, and the citizen class to assume importance. When cities were surrounded by walls, their people began to enjoy republican institutions. Even in Asia the cities have privileges against the king—sometimes, indeed, of excessive extent. Those of Persia are not taxed. In Europe, where the city was the State, monarchy fell when the town wall superseded the royal acropolis.

Such great retrogressions as Cæsarism are not, of course, to be overlooked. Causes and effects so react upon each other that nothing is more like logomachy or less like science than to ask whether oaks produce acorns or acorns oaks! Knowledge destroyed the old-fashioned tyranny. A new one, the limitations of knowledge allowed to rise, which for ages checked the progress of knowledge. Yet something, both knowledge and liberty had gained, and according to the remark of Malthus, could not lose. As many Phalarises as cities would have been a great deal worse than one Caligula. The multifold tyrannies of the decaying Roman system—the slave-trade, the standing army, the taxes, serfdom, the suspicion with which innovation was regarded by the government, the hostility of theology to secular pursuits,—among them stopped progress and induced social decay; but in the blackest night of the Dark Ages very little physical truth was forgotten. Their intellectual weeds were interest in theology, and war. The good plants crowded out, were literature and art. The spirit of physical experiment actually revived with the breaking up of the Roman power, whose stagnant decline had been more fatal to it than anything else. We can see this on comparing the Western countries of Europe with the Lower Empire. Byzantium had many advantages. Her dominions were saved from dissolution by a very strong fortress, most favorably situated for trade, and a navy long the only one in the world. They were rich, cultured, and from their very organization Christian. If there be nothing but decay in the East and, after a brief tho seemingly great relapse, only progress in the West, the cause of progress cannot be previously accumulated wealth, or knowledge, or the true religion, all which have been claimed for this distinction. It must evidently be something which western Europe had and eastern had not. Now two things which Byzantium certainly did not have were liberty and physical curiosity. But in western Europe the incubus of an Empire was gone. The new barbarian nobility were always most intolerant of restraint. The cities were nuclei of liberalism. The Church not only continued to defend nobly that moral phase of liberty which alone she valued (she did that even at Byzantium) but, what at Byzantium was impracticable, she often made common cause with other champions of larger freedom, as the Lombard cities and the Guelphic feudatories. While, accordingly, the noble kingdom of Justinian psesents, from his decease onwards, an unrelieved spectacle of degeneracy, the small, impoverished, ignorant States of the west, almost immediately began to lay the foundation of modern democracy and science. Among inventions of the Dark Ages were gunpowder (introduced by the Saracens from Asia, but improved only in western Europe); cannon, which broke up feudal tyranny; the art of casting in large moulds, suggested by cannon; the use of coal, occasioned by the need for large castings; the pump, the clock, the compass, printing, and rag paper, before the two last of which ecclesiastical tyranny fell down.* This means an advance far greater than was made between Homer and Augustulus. It is amazing that such a people as the Romans should scarcely have tried to measure time; and it shows the depressing effect of a luxurious civilization based on slavery; for this problem exercised medieval ingenuity continually until the great Pope Gerbert solved it. Within a century after printing came into use, the voyages of Columbus and Gama awoke mankind to the vast possibilities of discovery, and science entered on a steady course, whose connection with the advance of liberty in modern times needs little exposition.

We are now in a position to recapitulate with small augmentation but great improvement in clearness the results of sections II, III, IV, and VII. Authority is the inverse measure of culture. Its factors—the disposition to tyrannize and to submit—vary directly as one another, and are at their height in the lowest social state. The forms it assumes—slavery, caste, serfdom, the intellectual despotism of a system like Confucius', dogmatical religion, industrial monopoly—are all supported by a main one, civil government, which exists for the purpose, tho occasionally it quarrels over the spoil with someone of them—the Church particularly. All are most unfavorable to progress in culture and social elevation. And the antipathy is mutual. For progress in culture is measured by progress in knowledge; and that, again, by use of the inductive method. But the very first steps the inductive philosopher necessarily must take is to throw away entirely that reverence for authority which alone enables it to maintain itself. (See the chapter on Socrates in Grote's history of Greece; Bacon *cit.*; or the philosophic works of Descartes, which have been edited by Cousin.) As to the results of the conflict, we remark that slavery absolutely kills civilization unless it be itself destroyed; but civilization is only obstructed by the influence of caste, serfdom, training on an hereditary model, dogmas, monopoly—that is none of them have killed a civilization yet, tho they have had a long time to do it. Cases may, however, be cited—India (caste), China (tradition), the Ottoman Empire (dogmatism), in which they have done more than delay progress. In all these instances we may see positive decline. Culture has availed to soften, and under favorable circumstances to destroy slavery, by which, if the result fails, it must be destroyed. In conflict with serfdom it has perhaps always been successful. Dogmas conquered it in the Mussulman world. It has conquered them in the Christian. In Europe it overthrew the idolatry of Aristotle. In China it has not, so far, overthrown that of Confucius. On the whole, therefore, there has been progress; nay, on the whole it has been very marked. The pessimistic view, once universal, now unfashionable, but still occasionally revived, that every civilization must grow old and full before a youthful vigorous barbarism, depends on a narrow induction, and has been very much assisted by the familiar error of confounding government with society. But this is true, that European civilization owes ascendancy to European knowledge, and infallibly would be wounded in a vital place by any such triumph of authority as could arrest the inductive pursuit of knowledge. The lazy optimism which bids us leave the future to "evolution," cannot, therefore, too strongly be condemned.

The inductive method applies to all branches of hopeful inquiry, (Mill, "System of Logic," Herbert Spencer, "First Principles"). It applies therefore to moral and social as well as to physical science. (Bacon,

* It has been suggested that printing and rag paper would have done little good, but for the revival of classic studies which created a demand for books. Of course, the effect in that case must have been different, but according to a previous remark, it might not have been any less beneficial. The Church had become conservative since about the end of her struggle with the Empire (1270 A. D.). Intelligent men had accordingly been drifting away from her for two centuries before Luther. This secured the rapid success of the Reformation. But if intelligence had been directed less towards Greek, and more, as in that case it surely would have been, towards physics, I am not at all sure but the reformation of the eighteenth century might have come, escaping many reactions, during the seventeenth.

"*De Augmentis*" B. 7. Chs. II, III; Macaulay, essay on Bacon). Application in such directions leaves very much to be desired; but it has produced great progress in very important branches. This progress is all extremely recent. It dates from the application of induction to the subjects, which however, represents in itself such a triumph of the scientific over the theological, metaphysical, and governmental spirit as could only have occurred quite lately. Chief among these subjects we have already considered education (second section), criminalogy (fifth section) and sexual regulation (*ib*). Herbert Spencer's paper on "Manners and Fashion" (see section II) is valuable study not only because it treats a separate and important, tho neglected phase of primitive tyranny and (very partial) modern liberation, but also because it shows a principle of high interest applicable to all the subjects cited. Servility to Mrs. Grundy as to other despots, is, we have seen, at its height in the most primitive savagery. It is very conspicuous in such backward civilizations as the Chinese. It declines with real social progress, an effect, we remember of knowledge, because this makes the irksomeness of Mrs. Grundy's rules intolerable; so they are either openly repudiated or, more commonly, evaded. I believe I have somewhere said already, but it will bear repeating, that superstitious usages generally fare thus, while personal tyranny tends rather to become worse till it provokes a revolution. Civil Law, partaking of both characters, sometimes works out its destruction one way, sometimes in the other. The laws about Possession retain their fundamental vice of consecrating Property. But here too there has been very considerable progress, mostly quite recent and all due in an exceedingly direct manner to increase of knowledge. Freedom of bequest, contract, purchase, trade, settlement, occupation, are features of the modern system. Their advance is quite well decribed in the Encyclopedia Brittannica articles "Government" and "Political Economy." For the most part the old abuses here referred to, when they began to decline, were such as few felt any lively interest in maintaining. Their continued existence was due to superstitious reverence for precedent, and accordingly they rather ran out than were abolished. Exceptions occurred in such cases as the battles over free trade and apprenticeship, where the beneficiaries of a declining evil formed a powerful vested interest. The Anarchistic trend of all these reforms is very evident.

Hitherto I have ignored the emotional nature of man to an extent which might give an impression that I undervalue it. But such is far from being the case. Emotion is the condition of action; action of feeling; and feeling (so far as we have any means to know)" of existence.* Nothing but ignorance exalted into dogmatism can make any man think lightly of what is thus proved the fountain of his conscious being. Emotion, tho not itself progressive, is the source of all progress. Tho it is that which rhetoric would act upon, it does not itself produce rhetoric. It produces images. If its aim goes no further, it produces beautiful art.* If it seeks realization apparent to others, it produces also useful art. And as it is the beginning of all things, so it is the end. Happiness is not obtained by the method which alone produces physical, moral, or social improvements. This method only removes obstacles to happiness. And what do its fruits amount to if happiness be wanting after all? Happiness is not, I maintain, as Hedonists say, the object of all effort, but it is of all content. Now happiness is attained when the sense of beauty is satisfied;† and those who understand that have, for their own gratification, a capital advantage over men with muck-rakes, however well skilled in the practical business of getting dollars together.

"Great God! I'd rather be
A pagan, suckled in a creed outworn,
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses which would make me less forlorn;
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn."

Ask why we should desire health, plenty, safety, comfort, honor, length of days—anything to which knowledge contributes, and in pursuit of which civilization makes progress—we find that in themselves these are apples of Sodom. None will last. The more perfect the bodily functions, the greater the capacity for suffering. The more prudence, the more worry. The more riches increase, the more do wants. The higher the station, the more critical. The more life is prolonged, the more of age and its infirmities. There is no consideration which should make a wise man seek to improve his condition here, at the expense of so much labor, except this, that the mind is developed by its care for the body—that "useful" art brings knowledge, that health is necessary to tranquility, possessions to leisure, ease to energy, station to society, longevity to success. The end of all is contemplation. Unable to formulate existence (emotion), we can see it; we can idealize, that is typify it, by the artistic method of selection; and when the religious spirit of art has purged from incompatibility our little personal cupidities, we see that it is very good. Because men are not content either with idleness or pain, and because they find that they can escape from both into the region of ideas, Idealism is not destined to decline. The objectified consciousness of that incomprehensible state in which subject and object are united, but which, since it is itself consciousness, must be assimilated rather with the former,* is the mark of a sensitive mind; and lack of it, tho probably about equally common in all stages of human progress, is increasingly a mark of retrocession as the average human intellect develops.

"They reckon ill who leave me out;
When me they fly, I am the wings:
I am the doubter, and the doubt,
And I the hymn the Brahmin sings."

The wise man does not leave Brahma out. No book was ever written more distinctly for the purpose of declaring emotion and the speculations it suggests unprogressive, and induction the only method which increases knowledge, than Lord Bacon's "*Novum Organum*." There is none which defines with more precision or extols with more eloquence the true sphere of the emotional, the artistic and the religious nature.

That the religious or contemplative instinct thus springs from emotion and expresses itself in Art, may be seen very clearly on considering its earliest phases.† They are low and barbarous enough. About the first religious or superstitious practise of any people is Divination, close upon whose heels treads conjuring, as explained in section VI. From simply making the ominous apparatus give signs unpropitious to the enemy, the savage, as his artistic taste improves and his means of gratifying it increase, advances to cursing the enemy with religious ceremonies often of a highly gorgeous, picturesque and striking character. In this example is wrapped up the principle which so intimately connects Art, especially in its lower stages, with Religion. Religion, it has often been remarked, embodies several elements—the Speculative, the Moral, the Ritual, the Emotional. The two last are evidently nearest akin of any. They are also the oldest, and the only two appreciated in any great degree either by savages or degenerates.‡

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

* Schopenhauer, "The World as Will," and see section XII. By Will this philosopher means something different from volition in psychology as usually taught. He means that impulse *ab intra*, explained by biology as the result of chemical changes, which causes action even in an embryo. I avoid ambiguity by calling it Emotion, which is quite etymologically correct. If this word be used in the ordinary sense, as denoting a special phase of feeling, we cannot of course say that emotion gives rise to action and action to feeling unexceptingly; but we still can say that emotion gives rise to action and action to all other feeling. Neither formula involves the Metaphysical Blunder, tho, of course, one which aimed to unite them would; for the Metaphysical Blunder consists in not seeing that all clear thought lies between the poles of consciousness, subject and object.

* Aristotle, "Rhetoric" and "Poetics."

† This truth is that at which Pessimism breaks down. Starting from "Will," Schopenhauer easily shows that this subjective action (on the object) never satisfies its fundamental purpose. But when will acts upon itself, and instead of seeking to mould material things, is content to mould ideals, he cannot deny that it accomplishes its purpose, and happiness is attained. He takes refuge in saying this is an evanescent stage in evolution; which brings us back to the unknown and unknowable

* Hume, it is well known, denied meaning to the terms subject and object. We know only the consciousness which is alike both and neither. The reply of Idealism is that we are conscious of conscious states, and thus the subject makes the object.

† Sir John Lubbock, "Origin of Civilization," describes four phases of paganism in terms implying that they succeed each other. They are Fetishism (divination, witchcraft, and commonly also devil-worship), Totemism, Shamanism (ghost and Spirit-worship), and Idolatry. All four and also monotheism, may be found, as stated, among so non-religious a people as the Zulus. But their very names show their especial affinities with the customs of distinct races—fetish being the European tantamount of a Negro word; totem American Indian; Shaman, Tartar; and idol, Aryan. The evidence that the first are oldest is that they prevail among the most primitive people.

‡ Among criminals in jail there is a great deal both of piety and impiety, but the former is always of a low type. They love showy rites (the Catholic) or noisy ones (the Salvation Army's); they believe in the magical efficacy of crosses, holy water, a Bible, or an evangelical formula; they can be moved to tears by a sentimental sermon; they tattoo their flesh with tender texts; but of religion as a moral restraint, or as a speculative doctrine (unless it is made very simple) they have apparently no idea.

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The government leaves things done. It hunts down Anarchists, slanders them in its press, dares to reproach them with not loving their country. But it protects the wretches who strip, exploit, and betray their country.—*M. Viviani.*

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